

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 171938

NICOSIA FOR ASST SECY MAYNES

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (STADIS CAPTION DELETED FROM THIS MSG)  
E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ILO, PLAB

SUBJECT: TALKS WITH EC-9/IMEC ABOUT ILO

1. PURPOSE OF CONSULTATIONS IS (A) TO DETERMINE VALUE OF  
ILO TO WEST (MINUS US, I.E. EC/IMEC); (B) TO FIND OUT WHAT  
WEST EXPECTS TO HAPPEN TO ILO IF US WITHDRAWS; AND (C) TO  
LEARN WHAT, IF ANY, SPECIAL COMMITMENT WEST WILL MAKE TO  
ACHIEVING WEST'S GOALS IN ILO.

2. DEPT EXPECTS YOU AS SPOKESMAN TO ENCOURAGE EC/IMEC  
REPRESENTATIVES TO BE FRANK IN THEIR PRESENTATIONS ON  
ABOVE POINTS BUT LEAVES TO YOUR DISCRETION HOW BEST TO  
ACHIEVE THIS. IF THEY SEEM READY TO PROCEED AT ONCE, BEST  
APPROACH MAY BE TO LET THEM TALK. ON THE OTHER HAND, THEIR  
WILLINGNESS TO BE FRANK COULD BE ENCOURAGED BY BRIEF RE-  
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MARKS BY YOU WHICH, WITHOUT APOLOGY OR EXCUSE, MENTION  
STRONG AND WEAK POINTS OF US REFORM EFFORT, AND OUR  
SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION WITH WESTERN ALLIES' RESPONSE.

3. FOLLOWING POINTS MAY BE HELPFUL: (A) US REFORM EFFORT  
HAD LIMITED FLEXIBILITY BECAUSE OF SPECIFIC POINTS SET  
FORTH IN NOVEMBER 5, 1975 LETTER. EVEN THOUGH NO "SHOPPING

LIST" OF REQUIRED REFORMS WAS INCLUDED, WE HAVE, BEFORE EACH MAJOR ILO MEETING, CHOSEN CONCRETE EVENTS WHICH FITTED

IN UNDER FOUR POINTS. WE HAVE THEN INFORMED WEST OF OUR GOALS AND OF OUR PLANNED TACTICS AND ASKED THEIR SUPPORT. IN SOME INSTANCES WE KNOW THAT ALLIES WOULD HAVE PREFERRED OTHER GOALS OR FEWER OR LESS SPECIFIC GOALS, OR OTHER TACTICS, BUT THEY HAVE EITHER KEPT THEIR VIEWS TO THEMSELVES (AND SUPPORTED US) OR FRANKLY TOLD US OF THEIR DISAGREEMENT BUT AT THE SAME TIME PROMISED THEIR SUPPORT; PURPOSE OF THIS WESTERN CONDUCT WAS TO KEEP US IN ILO. WHILE WE CAN UNDERSTAND THIS, IT HAS MADE IT DIFFICULT FOR US TO DETERMINE PRECISELY AMOUNT OF GENUINE (AS OPPOSED TO FORCED) SUPPORT FOR GOALS AND TACTICS US HAS CHOSEN. AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN DURING HIS VISITS IN EARLY 1976 STATED PRO FORMA COMMITMENT WAS NOT WHAT WE WANTED (PARA J, GENEVA 2953 APRIL 1976). WE APPRECIATE EC/IMEC VOTES AND OTHER ACTIVITIES BUT US HAD TO KEEP PRESSURE ON CONSTANTLY AND EVEN SO WE WERE DISAPPOINTED AT SOMEWHAT UNENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE IN MAJOR INSTANCES.

(B) THIS PERIOD IS NOW COMING TO AN END. IF US WITHDRAWS (WHICH MAY OCCUR, ESPECIALLY AS US WORKER AND EMPLOYER REPRESENTATIVES HAVE MADE AT LEAST PRELIMINARY DECISIONS TO RECOMMEND WITHDRAWAL), TOTALLY NEW SITUATION WILL EXIST. SPECIAL LEADERSHIP ROLE WHICH WAS INEVITABLY ASSUMED BY US  
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BECAUSE OF ITS LETTER OF INTENT, WILL NO LONGER BE NECESSARY OR POSSIBLE. WESTERN MEMBERS REMAINING IN ILO WILL BE ON THEIR OWN, IN DECIDING GOALS, PLANNING STRATEGY AND COMMITTING RESOURCES (LEVEL OF ATTENTION; EXTRA PERSONNEL; PRIORITY IN MULTI/BILATERAL RELATIONS, ETC.)

(C) GIVEN "AUTOMATIC MAJORITY" WHICH G-77/EASTERN BLOC/ ARABS CAN ASSEMBLE, OBVIOUSLY WEST CAN ACHIEVE ITS GOALS ONLY IF IT CAN CONVINCE SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF NON-WESTERN MEMBERS TO SEEK SAME GOALS, WHICH WILL REQUIRE EXTENSIVE DEMARCHES BEFORE MEETINGS AND ACTIVE LOBBYING AT MEETINGS. DECISION TO EXPEND FOREIGN POLICY CAPITAL ON ILO IS OF COURSE ISSUE FOR EACH GOVERNMENT TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY IN CONTEXT OF OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES AND INTERESTS.

4. PROCEEDING ON ASSUMPTION OF US WITHDRAWAL, (HYPOTHETICAL AT PRESENT SINCE USG HAS NOT MADE ITS OWN DECISION, AND CLC HAS NOT MET TO PROVIDE TRIPARTITE FORUM) WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW FROM WESTERN REPS WHAT THEY BELIEVE ILO WILL BE LIKE IN THE EVENT OF US WITHDRAWAL OR IN THE EVENT OF A DECISION TO REMAIN IN DESPITE REVERSALS SUFFERED IN THE JUNE 1977 ILC (JUNE 1978 CONFERENCE COULD BE FIRST MAJOR

TEST; ALSO, MEETINGS OF WORKING PARTY ON STRUCTURE IN NOVEMBER 1977 AND SPRING 1978 MAY BE CRUCIAL), AND WHAT ROLE THEY PLAN TO PLAY, WHAT GOALS THEY WILL SEEK AND WHAT TACTICS THEY WILL PURSUE. US ATTITUDE TOWARDS ILO AFTER

WITHDRAWAL CANNOT BE DETERMINED AT THIS TIME, EVEN HYPOTHETICALLY, AND THEREFORE WESTERN REPS WILL HAVE TO MAKE THEIR DECISIONS WITHOUT CONSIDERING US ROLE. ANY COMMITMENT BY WEST SHOULD BE BASED ON WEST'S GENUINE PERCEPTION OF VALUE OF ILO TO WEST, NOT ON EFFORT TO KEEP US FROM WITHDRAWING OR TO ENCOURAGE RETURN.

5. IF ASKED WHETHER WEST COMMITMENT AT THIS TIME COULD PREVENT WITHDRAWAL, OR FUTURE WESTERN ACTIVITY WOULD LEAD  
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TO US RETURN, YOU SHOULD REITERATE NEED FOR WEST TO DETERMINE ITS OWN PRIORITIES, NOT DEFER TO US.

6. DEPT SUGGESTS THAT IN VIEW BRIEF TIME AVAILABLE FOR CONSULTATIONS, THAT RELATIVELY LITTLE TIME BE SPENT ASSESSING PAST, ESPECIALLY AS WEST LIKELY TO TRY TO PAINT OPTIMISTIC PICTURE AND EXPLAIN AWAY DEFEATS. SINCE US ASSESSMENT IS BASICALLY NEGATIVE, THERE IS LITTLE POINT IN DEBATING. FOCUS SHOULD BE ON FUTURE OF ILO/WEST RELATIONS IF US WITHDRAWS.

7. YOU SHOULD TRY TO SEPARATE WESTERN CONCERN ABOUT US WITHDRAWAL FROM ILO AS IT AFFECTS ILO ITSELF FROM WESTERN OVERALL CONCERN ABOUT US RELATIONS WITH SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND UN, FOLLOWING WITHDRAWAL FROM ILO. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT WEST MAY BE LESS INTERESTED IN FUTURE OF ILO THAN IN ASCERTAINING WHAT US WITHDRAWAL MAY MEAN IN US/ MULTILATERAL RELATIONS. WHILE THIS ISSUE IS SOMEWHAT SPECULATIVE, YOU COULD STATE THAT WITHDRAWAL (IF IT TAKES PLACE) DOES NOT REPRESENT ANY LESSENING OF ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY, BUT OF COURSE THERE ARE SOME GROUPS IN US WHICH HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY DIS-ILLUSIONED WITH UN AND ITS AGENCIES, AND US WITHDRAWAL FROM ILO MIGHT LEAD TO PRESSURE FOR SIMILAR ACTION WITH REGARD TO OTHER AGENCIES. VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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